

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0248

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DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF JULY 25, 1975
(SALT TWO- 691)

QUOTE:

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JULY 25, 1975

AS YOU KNOW, THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974 SPECIFIES THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL CONTAIN A PROVISION ON NEGOTIATIONS FOR FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS.

THIS UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. , REACHED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, IS POLITICALLY VERY MEANINGFUL. IT OPENS UP PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER MEASURES IN THE AREA OF LIMITATION AND POSSIBLE REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC ARMS. IT SHOWS THAT THE USSR AND THE U.S. STAND READY TO STRIVE FOR PROGRESS TOWARD ADOPTING JOINT MEASURES TO CURB THE ARMS RACE AND PREVENT NUCLEAR

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WAR.

IT IS CLEAR FROM PAST NEGOTIATIONS THAT THE SIDES HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING IN PRINCIPLE REGARDING THE ADVISABILITY OF INCLUDING IN THE DRAFT TEXT BEING WORKED OUT FOR THE NEW AGREEMENT SPECIAL PROVISIONS CONCERNING NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS. A NUMBER OF THESE PROVISIONS CONTAIN WORDING AGREED ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS.

THIS APPLIES TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE PREAMBLE OF THE MAY 7, 1975 DRAFT CONCERNING THE DETERMINATION OF THE SIDES TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS BEGUN WITH THE ABM TREATY, WHICH IS OF UNLIMITED DURATION, AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT CURRENTLY IN FORCE, AND THEIR DESIRE TO TAKE MEASURES FOR THE FURTHER LIMITATION AND FOR THE REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC ARMS, HAVING IN MIND THE GOAL OF ACHIEVING GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT. THE PREAMBLE CONTAINS A STATEMENT REGARDING THE INTENTION OF THE SIDES TO UNDERTAKE IN THE NEAR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS TO LIMIT FURTHER AND TO REDUCE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

IN THE OPERATIVE PART OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, THE QUESTION OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS IS DEALT WITH IN ARTICLE XVI. BASED ON AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE BETWEEN THE SIDES REGARDING THE NECESSITY OF INCLUDING THIS ARTICLE IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT, WE MUST CONTINUE AND COMPLETE WORKING OUT ITS FORMULATIONS.

THE SOVIET WORDING OF ARTICLE XVI ACCURATELY REFLECTS THE LANGUAGE OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974. IT SPECIFIES THE TIME AND THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE FORMULATION OF ARTICLE XVI, PROPOSED BY THE U.S. SIDE, CONTAIN PROVISION GOING BEYOND THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING BY WHICH WE ARE TO BE GUIDED. FOR EXAMPLE, PAR. 2 OF THE U.S. VERSION OF ARTICLE XVI PROVIDES ADDITIONALLY FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON REVIEWING THE AGREEMENT FIVE YEARS PRIOR TO EXPIRATION OF ITS TERM, WHICH ONLY CONFUSES MATTERS.

AS FOR THE U.S. PROPOSALS FOR THE DRAFT OF THE NEW
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AGREEMENT, ARTICLE XIX OF THE JOINT DRAFT PROPOSES A PROVISION FOR AMENDMENTS TO THE AGREEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED. IN OUR VIEW, THIS PROPOSAL COULD BE CONSTRUCTIVELY CONSIDERED BY THE DELEGATIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE CONTENT OF THE PROVISION CONTAINED IN ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 2, REFERRED TO ABOVE, IS FULLY COVERED IN THE ARTICLE ON AMENDMENTS.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTEREST EXPRESSED BY THE U.S.

SIDE, THE USSR DELEGATION WOULD BE PREPARED, UPON REACHING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON THE WORDING OF ARTICLE XVI OF THE JOINT DOCUMENT OF MAY 7, 1975, TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING A PROVISION ON AMENDMENTS IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT IN APPROXIMATELY THE FOLLOWING WORDING: "EACH PARTY MAY PROPOSE AMENDMENTS TO THIS AGREEMENT. AGREED AMENDMENTS SHALL ENTER INTO FORCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROCEDURES GOVERNING THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THIS AGREEMENT."

WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE U.S. SIDE WILL CONSIDER THIS PROPOSAL IN A POSITIVE SPIRIT AND, FOR ITS PART, WILL TAKE CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION TOWARD REACHING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON THESE ISSUES, AS WELL AS ON THE OTHER PROBLEMS WHICH MUST BE SOLVED TO MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD PRODUCTIVELY TOWARD AGREEING ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING.

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MR. AMBASSADOR,

AT THE JULY 7, 1975 MEETING, THE SOVIET SIDE TABLED A CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL FOR THE WORDING OF ARTICLE XVIII OF

THE JOINT DRAFT-- ON USING THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROMOTING THE OBJECTIVES AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED, AND ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SCC IN THIS CONNECTION.

HAVING TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THE INTEREST MANIFESTED BY THE U.S. SIDE IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS, THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSED TO SET FORTH THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SCC IN THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT IN THE SAME WAY THE FUNCTIONS OF THAT BODY ARE SET FORTH IN ARTICLE XIII OF THE ABM TREATY.

THE SOVIET WORDING OF ARTICLE XVIII, SUPAR.2 (B), PROVIDES THAT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION, WITH RESPECT TO THE AGREEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED, THE PARTIES WILL PROVIDE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS SUCH INFORMATION AS EITHER PARTY CONSIDERS NECESSARY TO ASSURE CONFIDENCE IN SECRET

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COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED.

THE PROVISION WOULD BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF STRENGTHENING MUTUAL TRUST BETWEEN THE SIDES DURING THE PROCESS OF COMPLYING WITH THE OBLIGATIONS TO BE PROVIDED FOR UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT. BEING AN EXPRESSION OF THE GOOD WILL OF THE SIDES ON THE QUESTION OF STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE FUTURE AGREEMENT, IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO ENHANCING THE VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE DOCUMENT BEING WORKED OUT; BOTH SIDES ARE EQUALLY INTERESTED IN THIS.

THE PROVISION ON VOLUNTARILY PROVIDING INFORMATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SCC, AS ENVISAGED IN THE PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET SIDE OF JULY 7, 1975, IS SIMILAR TO THE CORRESPONDING PROVISION OF ARTICLE XIII OF THE ABM TREATY. AS YOU KNOW, THE ABM TREATY PLACES EXTREMELY COMPLEX AND, IN THEIR CONTENT, DIVERSE LIMITATIONS ON THE ARMS WHICH ARE SUBJECT OF THAT AGREEMENT. NEVERTHELESS, EXPERIENCE OF IMPLEMENTING THE ABM TREATY HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION ARE FULLY ADEQUATE TO PROVIDE CONFIDENCE TO THE SIDES THAT THE LIMITATIONS ESTABLISHED BY THE DOCUMENT ARE COMPLIED WITH. THE CORRESPONDING FUNCTIONS OF THE SCC, WHICH IS CALLED UPON TO PROMOTE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OBJECTIVES AND PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO CONFIDENCE OF THE SIDES IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED. THE U.S. DELEGATION'S PROPOSAL ON NOTIFICATION, AND ON THE QUESTIONS ON WHICH THE SIDES WOULD HAVE TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION, DOES NOT IN ANY WAY ENSUE FROM PAST EXPERIENCE AND IS UNFOUNDED. THEREFORE, WE ARE CONVINCED, THE CORRESPONDING PROVISIONS OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SCC, FORMULATED IN THE ABM TREATY, INCLUDING THE PROVISION ON VOLUNTARY EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, COULD ALSO BE USED IN

ARTICLE XVIII FOR INCLUSION IN THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREE-
MENT.

AN IMPORTANT ADVANTAGE OF THE SOVIET WORDING OF
SUBPAR. 2 (B) OF THIS ARTICLE IS THE FACT THAT IT DOES NOT
IN ANY WAY RAISE DOUBTS CONCERNING THE CAPABILITY OF NATIONAL
TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION TO PROVIDE THE SIDES WITH
CONFIDENCE IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE NEW
AGREEMENT. AND CONVERSELY, ATTEMPTS TO IMPART TO THE EXCHANGE
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OF INFORMATION SUCH A CHARACTER AS WOULD IN ESSENCE CONSTITUTE
SUBSTITUTION FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL
TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION, WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE
UNDERSTANDING OF THE SIDES CONCERNING THE ROLE OF THESE MEANS
IN VERIFYING THE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE NEW
AGREEMENT, AND WOULD CONFLICT WITH THE OBJECTIVES AND TASKS
OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

THE USSR DELEGATION ANTICIPATES THAT THESE CONSIDERATIONS
OF OURS WILL BE CAREFULLY EXAMINED BY THE U.S. SIDE. WE ALSO
LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING THE U.S. DELEGATION'S CONSIDERATIONS
ON THIS QUESTION.
UNQUOTE JOHNSON

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